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POETIC JUSTICE IN THE AENEID¹

The Aeneid is regarded by many as one of the saddest poems of the world. Its hero is truly a Man of Sorrows. When first we see him (1.92-94)^{1a}, he is suffering agony, and envying those who fell at Troy (1.94-101), with whom he had earned the right to die, had the fates permitted it (2.433-434). To him death is fairer than life: he wonders why the souls of the dead should wish to enter new bodies and return to the world of the living (6.719-721)². There is in the world much suffering, and much of it is undeserved. Why should the faithful Orontes be drowned, and why the loyal Palinurus? Palinurus's death happens under circumstances that leave an undeserved blemish on his reputation (5.870), and he goes to undeserved wretchedness in the future state because he is unburied. Why should Laocoon for wisely and valiantly opposing danger to his country be overpowered by a frightful doom, in which, moreover, his innocent children are involved? Why should the just Rhipeus die when he is striving to defend his country, or the just Galaesus when he is striving to make peace³? We grieve when Halaesus presents his defenseless breast to the enemy while he is protecting Imaon, when noble Antores dies by a wound intended for another⁴. Saddest of all, the gods themselves bring about many of these undeserved calamities (see e. g. 2.602). Juno and her agent Aeolus are responsible for the death of Orontes, Juno and her agent Allecto for that of Galaesus, Neptune and his agent Somnus for that of Palinurus, perhaps Neptune or Minerva⁵ for that of Laocoon. Often the justice of the gods is questioned or doubted or denied. They chose to crush the just Rhipeus (2.428) and the whole undeserving race of Priam (3.1-2). Can we accept the tales of their emulousness (6.173⁶) and of their resentment (1.11)? We may hope that the good will be rewarded, and the bad punished, if there is *pietas* or respect for *pietas* in heaven (1.603-605, 2.535-538).

Perhaps, however, these last two examples are not apposite, since the *si*-clauses may well express not doubt, but asseveration (compare 4.317-318, 6.529-

530⁷). In that case the gods *are* concerned with matters of right and wrong. This is usually the assumption in the Aeneid. Ilioneus, the spokesman of the Trojans, voices this idea clearly in his reproaches to Dido (1.542-543). Juno, to be sure, is almost unfailingly unjust⁸, but even she is won over in the end. Most of the other rulers of heaven stand regularly for righteousness⁹. Through their will, or through that of the fates, the righteous are often comforted, and the evil-doers are often punished. In other words, a certain code of poetic justice prevails in the Aeneid. The poem becomes less depressing if we realize this. The fate of those who suffer becomes no less pitiable (for Vergil or for us) if we realize that they have worked their own undoing, but it becomes at least more comprehensible.

As an indication that the gods are cognizant of right and wrong we have the fact that they cannot be duped by injustice or trickery. Wrongful prayers avail not. There are two striking cases of this¹⁰. One is the prayer of Dido at the banquet (1.731-735). Dido, whose followers regularly violate the fundamental laws of hospitality¹¹, has no right to call on Jupiter as the giver of those laws. In consequence, we are not surprised to find that the day is by no means a happy one for Tyrians or Trojans, that Bacchus gives no lasting joy, and that Juno is not truly kind. The only part of Dido's prayer that is realized is the hope that the descendants of both Tyrians and Trojans may remember the day; but they remember it only to their sorrow, in accordance with Dido's later prayer (4.622-629) for the coming of an avenger, and for lasting enmity between the peoples. Similarly, Apollo grants only in part the prayer of Arruns (11.792-793), *haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes*. Arruns is probably eager primarily for a *safe* return home, though he dwells on the word *inglorius*. Phoebus is not taken in by the trick. He lets Arruns kill Camilla (whose death, though regrettable, is necessary for the righteous cause of the Trojans), but he does not permit Arruns to reach home (794-798). The killer is not to *live* ingloriously, but to *die* ingloriously¹²;

¹In both passages the speakers assume that they may fairly expect good to be rewarded and evil to be punished.

^{1a}Venus's complaint (1.668) that Aeneas is buffeted *odii lunonis iniquae* is true. Juno is *iniqua*—even if we accept the variant *lection (acerbae)*. She is *iniqua* to others besides Aeneas: compare *fatis lunonis iniquae*, said in 8.292 of the lot of Hercules.

^{2a}As I tried to show in my paper, *Pietas Versus Violentia in the Aeneid* (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 25.9-13, 17-21; see especially 11-13, 17).

¹⁰It is surprising, and regrettable, that Sinon is not punished for his sacrilegious oath in 2.154-156. Technically he is safe enough in invoking altars and swords that never endangered him, and fillets that never bound him; yet he calls also on the heavenly bodies (*ignes*, 154) with intent to deceive. The only satisfactory explanation, both for Sinon's exemption from deserved punishment and for Laocoon's suffering of undeserved punishment is that Troy was doomed, and all things worked to bring this doom about. See further note 30, below.

¹¹Ilioneus charges this (1.539-540); Dido cannot deny it, but tries to justify it (563-564).

¹²Apparently, despite his pride in his deed (see 11.854, referred to again below), no one knows of it. So the soldier who treacherously wounds Aeneas (12.320-323) remains *inglorius*.

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Barnard College, Columbia University, April 28-29, 1933.

^{2a}Every reader of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY should have at hand the complete text of the Aeneid. Hence in many places in this paper Vergil's words are not quoted. This is particularly true of the first six books, with which, unhappily, many readers are far more familiar than they are with the last six books of the poem.

Professor Hahn used the edition of Vergil by F. A. Hirtzell, in the Oxford Classical Text Series. She has not, however, always followed the punctuation and the capitalization (or lack of capitalization) of that text. C. K.

³Contrast the view of Achilles, the lusty hero who loves life, and prefers poverty and serfdom among the quick to kingly power among the dead (Odyssey 11.488-491).

⁴Note *iustissimus unus* used of both these men, 2.426, 7.536.

⁵Note *infelix unus* of both these men, 10.425, 781.

⁶The serpents come from the sea (2.203-205), and they seek refuge under the statue of Minerva (225-227).

⁷I feel that *si credere dignum est* refers not to the credibility of the tale in general, as Conington believes, but to the credibility of the motive ascribed to the god.

stealthily as he has killed Camilla is he to be killed by one whom he hears but does not see, and he is to lie forgotten, deserted by his comrades, in the unknown dust (866). Thus Arruns, we feel, meets his just dues so far as Apollo¹³ is concerned.

We may consider here the case of Palinurus. When we leave him at the close of Book 5, and when we meet him again at 6.337, we feel that he has been unfairly treated. Yet justice is finally done him. Aeneas's mistaken belief (5.870) that Palinurus was not true to his trust is dispelled by Palinurus's statement that he was carried away with the rudder by which he was guiding the course of the boat (6.349-351)¹⁴. Palinurus is comforted by the Sibyl; he will have due burial, speedy release from his present duress, and abiding honor (377-383)¹⁵. The painful suspicions that Aeneas has been entertaining of the trustworthiness of Apollo (343-346) are likewise happily removed (347-348).

It may be objected that not all the unburied are so fortunate as Palinurus is. Most of them, through no fault of their own, must suffer without such relief as Palinurus obtains. This gives us pause as it does Aeneas (6.332)¹⁶. On the other hand, there is consolation in the knowledge that these souls, when a hundred years have passed, are finally permitted to cross the Styx (6.329-330). Harder still to explain is the case of the babies, who are not only deprived of the pleasures of sweet life, but are doomed immediately to a bitter death (426-429). Is their death bitter simply as death, or do they know some special sorrow? We may hope that they, too, as Norden believes¹⁷, will have a chance at happiness when their term has expired; but Vergil does not comfort us by telling us so.

Other inhabitants of the neutral regions are dealt with more satisfactorily. Suicides are treated with all fairness. If suicide is wrong (I am sure that it was wrong in Vergil's code¹⁸), it is just that those who once in hatred of the light of day inflicted death upon themselves should now long intensely even for the utmost sorrows in the upper air (434-437)¹⁹. Most comforting is the state of those who have been unjustly condemned

to death: they are tried again²⁰, before a judge, Minos, whom we may assume to be fair and wise (430-433). The reverse case prevails in Tartarus. Here, too, we find a court and a judge, but those on trial here are tricksters who concealed their wrong-doing, and rejoiced in concealment; they are forced to confess what they thought was safely hidden, and they learn that atonement has been only postponed (566-569).

In many cases the punishment of the wrong-doer fits the crime. The earth-born giants who, like the sons of Aloeus that are with them, tried to reach lofty heaven and thrust Jupiter from the upper regions (584) are buried in the depths (581); Salmoeneus, who sought with human mimicry to imitate the thunder and the lightning of Jupiter, is hurled to his doom by a genuine thunder-bolt (585-594)²¹; Tityos, whose crime was one of lust, must suffer eternal torture of that organ which the ancients believed to be the seat of lust²² (595-600). Earthly punishments, too, are sometimes chosen with definite suitability. In 8.642-643... Mettunt in diversa quadrigae distulerant—at tu dictis, Albane, maneres...!, the contrast between the idea of rending asunder in *distulerant* and that of standing fast in *maneres* may well be intentional.

If the punishments inflicted in Tartarus are appropriate, so are the rewards bestowed in Elysium. Men enjoy in Elysium the sort of pleasures which were theirs in the world of the living. Those who in life cared about arms or horses still care about them when they are buried beneath the earth (6.653-655)²³. Some engage in exercise and sport, others in dance and song (642-644). The music is supplied by Orpheus (645-647) and, probably, Musaeus (667). Doubtless we are to assume that the joys known by poets and musicians are of a higher type than those that fall to the share of the soldiers and the athletes. Loftiest of all is the occupation of Anchises, who, like a true philosopher, is engaged in meditating apart from the general throng (679). Most appropriately he, the ideal father of the man who is to be the father of all the Roman race, is contemplating the ranks of those who are to be his descendants (681-682).

Even in *this* world the good are sometimes suitably rewarded. Aeneas finds the Golden Bough not when he

¹³Diana's part in the episode is perhaps less fair, since she has determined in advance that any one who kills her favorite Camilla must die (11.500-502). This suggests the primitive blood-feud, and partakes of primal savagery, as does Aeneas's action in sacrificing eight young prisoners as *inferiae* to Pallas (10.517-520). Once such an act satisfied man's idea of justice!!

¹⁴There is no need to assume any inconsistency between the account in Book 5 and that in Book 6. Under the circumstances neither Aeneas nor Palinurus can know precisely what had befallen. See Conington on 6.348, 354.

¹⁵Thus in Book 6 we find atonement for the wrong done in Book 5. Similarly the Dido story of Book 4 ends in Book 6 (compare note 62, below). So, too, we have to wait until we reach Book 3 to learn of the just retribution that befalls Pyrrhus for the wrong wrought by him in Book 2.

¹⁶Probably the real explanation here is that we again have a relic of early superstition (compare note 13, above). Moreover, in this case there is the very real hygienic necessity of insistence on strict methods of disposition of the dead.

¹⁷See Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, 11 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916).

¹⁸Dido cannot die in peace because she is dying *nec fato merita nec morte* (4.696). Righteous persons in the Aeneid do not inflict death upon themselves, or even contemplate doing so. Grief-stricken parents may pray for death as Evander does in case Pallas is doomed to die (8.578-579), and as the mother of the dead Euryalus does (9.493-497), but they do not kill themselves. <Compare Anna's words in 4.677-679. Wild as her grief is, she does not take her own life. C. K.>

¹⁹We may contrast their attitude with that of the normal shades, who can be induced to desire a return to the world of the living only by being made to forget all that had befallen on the occasion of their previous sojourn there (6.748-751).

²⁰Why is a second trial needed at all, if it is already known that the charge on which they were condemned in the upper world is false? Perhaps the legalistic Roman mind is unwilling to dispense with the full ceremony of the higher court.

<Professor Hahn was thinking here in terms of modern legal procedure (Appellate Divisions of Supreme Courts, State Courts of Appeals, and the United States Supreme Court) rather than in terms of Roman legal practice. Appeals to courts regularly constituted for the one purpose of hearing appeals and rehearings or retrials by such tribunals are not Roman. Indeed that seems to me to be the very point of the passage that Professor Hahn is discussing. Vergil is providing there something unknown to the world in which he and his readers are living, something better than that world knows. The futile and ineffectual procedure, or lack of procedure, of our world is offset by a sounder procedure in another world. On the general subject of appeals in Roman legal practice see e. g. H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*, 220, note 1 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932); J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law*, 1, Chapter VIII (127-145). Appeal to the People, 2, Chapter XX (176-217). Appeals under the Principate (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1912, 1912). C. K.>

²¹In 7.770-773 the healer who, usurping divine prerogatives, enabled a mortal to rise from the shades below, is himself hurled by Jupiter down to the Stygian waters.

²²See Servius on 6.596. Compare Lucretius 3.984-986, 992-994; Horace, *Carmina* 3.4 77-78.

²³Horace (*Carmina* 2.13.39-40) implies that the usual occupation of Orion in Hades is his favorite pursuit of hunting.

is seeking it²⁴, but when he is performing the duty that lies nearest him—the duty of burying his comrade.

Since the Aeneid is an essentially sad poem, we may expect to find more cases of evil punished than of good rewarded²⁵. Vergil naturally makes the Trojans noble and pious²⁶; their downfall is due directly to the trickery of the Greeks, and to their own readiness to trust and spare the enemy. On the other hand, the Greeks are guilty of appalling crimes; in Vergil Helen is not attractive (as she is in Homer), but repulsive²⁷. Yet Vergil cannot utterly conceal the fact, though he does avoid it, that the origin of the war, the essential wrong, lay with the Trojans²⁸. Juno's spirited attack on Venus²⁹ is by no means undeserved; Venus finds no answer to it. Troy, then, deserves to fall³⁰. It can not be helped if many noble figures³¹ are involved in her ruin. To Venus and to Aeneas the *inclementia* of the gods may seem to be the prime cause (2.602); yet there is good reason for the attitude of these avenging deities. Particularly can we understand when we read (2.610-612), . . . Neptunus muros magnoque emoti tridenti fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem eruit³². Neptune is justified in overthrowing the walls that he had built for a king who proved ungrateful and dishonest. Vergil, wishing to place Troy in as good a light as he can, does not directly refer to the notorious episode³³, but surely the implication is present in the passage just quoted, especially in view of two verses that follow almost immediately (624-625), Tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia. The thought recurs at the beginning of Book 3, when the setting out from the fallen city is described (2-3): ceciditque superbum Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia³⁴. In both passages *Neptunia* is used with telling effect³⁵.

²⁴Aeneas is like the faithful monk in Longfellow, *The Legend Beautiful*, who, in order to perform his daily task as almoner, tears himself away from a glorious Vision of the Lord, and on his return from this lowly duty finds the Vision still awaiting him.

²⁵The principle behind the two phenomena is identical.

²⁶On this point compare my paper, *Pietas Versus Violentia*, . . . 17 (see note 9, above).

²⁷Note particularly 2.567-587, 6.511-530.

²⁸Other instances in which Trojans fall short of perfection, and suffer for it, all treated below, include Aeneas's relations with Dido and with the Harpies, and the behavior of Coroebus, Pandarus and Bitias, Nisus and Euryalus. ²⁹See 10.90-93.

³⁰It was also highly desirable, from the Roman point of view, that she should fall. Otherwise how could Aeneas have come to found the glorious city? Similarly it was not desirable that Nisus and Euryalus should succeed in their plan to reach Aeneas (to this point I shall revert below).

³¹Such as Laocoon and Rhoipeus; compare notes 3, 10, above.

³²Elsewhere, however, Neptune is represented as friendly to the Trojans, or at least to the Trojans led by Aeneas (1.124-126, 5.790-815).

³³He does, however, let Neptune refer to it in 5.810-811. Neptune exempts Aeneas from the grudge that he rightly bears the entire race (compare note 32, above). The god's enmity is not, then, directed in wholly unreasoning fashion.

³⁴Vergil tells us here (3.1-2) of the gods' decision to destroy the undeserving race of Priam (compare the opening paragraph of this paper). Perhaps the point is that Priam and his children are not to blame; they are in part paying for the sin of Laomedon. Once more the code of justice does not seem wholly just; yet at least it is not simply a haphazard whim that is swaying the gods. Nor is this merely a remnant of barbaric belief, as may be the points referred to in notes 13, 16, above. Wise and noble men (e. g. Moses, Solon) have expressed the idea that the Lord visits "the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation".

³⁵As are the epithets *Laomedontiadae* in Caelano's charge (3.248) and *Laomedontidae* in Dido's (4.542). However, this patronymic is not always derogatory; Vergil calls Aeneas *Laomedonteus heros* (8.18) and Evander refers to Priam as *Laomedontiaden Priamum* (8.158). <On the general subject of epithets in Vergil see the monograph entitled *Characters and Epithets: A Study in Vergil's Aeneid*, by Nicholas Mosely (Yale University Press, 1926). For a review, by Professor J. J. Savage, of this monograph see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.190-191. C. K.>

Thus some, at least, of the sorrows visited upon the Trojan race were not undeserved³⁶. Individual Trojans are similarly made to suffer when they merit it. Cases are those of Coroebus and his associates in Book 2, of Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9³⁷. Even Aeneas must pay for his imperfections. He is partly to blame in the affair with Dido³⁸, not, of course, in leaving her, but in yielding to her. Her terrible imprecations (4.615-629) are fully realized; it is right that he too should suffer for dalliance and departure from rectitude.

But on the whole Aeneas and his companions behave worthily. Fundamentally, Vergil's sympathies and those of his readers are, and must be, with Troy. Therefore we learn with relief that some day the defeat inflicted by Greece upon Troy is to be canceled by as crushing a defeat inflicted by Rome, child of Troy, upon Greece. Twice this thought is explicitly conveyed. Jupiter promises this defeat (1.283-285), and Anchises predicts it (6.838-840). It is a comfort to know that the stronghold of Juno, the city of Agamemnon, the capital and the descendant of Achilles, will all some day be destroyed by a descendant of Aeneas. Moreover, most of the individual leaders of the Greek host have met their just deserts. It is not with impunity that Ajax earns the wrath of Pallas *ob noxam et furias* (1.41), that *impius* Diomedes and *scelerum inventor* Ulysses (2.163-164) engage in the *inertia furta* (9.150) of the Palladium³⁹, that Diomedes, *demens*, dares to assail the bodies of the gods and to violate the hand of Venus with a wound (11.276-277), that Pyrrhus slays a suppliant at the altar (2.550-553). To punish Ajax Pallas destroys a whole fleet, and visits an awful death upon Ajax himself (1.39-45); to punish Ulysses and Diomedes (2.169-170) she sends failure and defeat upon the Greek host⁴⁰. Ulysses is especially unhappy. Achaemenides calls himself *comes infelicis Ulyxi* (3.613); the expression is echoed by Aeneas (691). Diomedes has known nothing but misfortune—the loss of his wife and home and comrades—ever since his attack on Venus (11.269-277). From Diomedes, too, we learn of the calamities that have befallen other Greeks, Ulysses (11.263), Menelaus (262-263)⁴¹, Neoptolemus (264), Idomeneus (264-265), Agamemnon (266-268). In regard to Neoptolemus Diomedes is least specific. But Vergil has himself given the later history of this repulsive warrior. He is killed at the altar by Orestes (3.331-332), even as Priam had been killed by him. His kingdom falls into the hands of Helenus and Andromache (295-296), once his despised slaves (329); in the end (466-469)

³⁶Compare note 28, above.

³⁷Both cases are treated below.

³⁸We may easily make excuses for him. But, after all, he does what he ought not to do; the stern code of the ancients allows of no sentimental whitewashing. Even Orestes must pay for obeying the command of a god, since that command involves not only right conduct (avenging a father), but also wrong conduct (killing a mother).

³⁹The terms here quoted, though they are used by the deceitful Sinon and by Turnus, notorious for his *violentia*, are none the less true.

⁴⁰In the Aeneid we have only Sinon's authority for this (compare note 39, above); but he seems to be speaking the truth. What makes his tale so credible is his clever admixture of what the Trojans know to be true with what they afterwards learn to be false.

⁴¹Helen is involved in this; but in general she is the one great exception in that she does not meet with the fate that she merits. When Troy falls, this *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys* (2.573) deservedly fears vengeance at the hands of Greeks and Trojans alike (571-573), but she escapes punishment from either source.

they give his magnificent armor to his ancient enemy, Aeneas—culminating triumph for the Trojan cause! In short, if the Trojans have suffered, so, too, have the Greeks; if the tale of Aeneas could wring tears even from the soldiery of Achilles or Ulysses (2.6-8), the Greeks, too, as one of their ancient leaders knows full well, Priam himself would have to pity (11.259).

Similarly fare the enemy encountered by Aeneas in his second war. Turnus, who is mainly responsible for that war, pays dearly for the responsibility (as Latinus expected from the outset: 7.596-597); he envies those who have fallen in death (11.416-418)⁴², admits defeat, and begs for mercy (12.930-938). But Latinus himself, the ineffective weakling who cannot prevent the war from getting under way⁴³, is not wholly free from blame, and therefore must suffer. To no purpose he pleads for peace (11.330-334) at a crucial moment when the enemy are actually at the gates (304), and only cowards like Drances can think of aught but defense. Aeneas himself can hardly, at this stage, contemplate "peace without victory", glad though he would once have been to offer peace to living as well as to dead (11.111), and quite without malice though he is (113). He emphasizes the fact that he is *not* fighting the Italian people: he is engaged in war only because King Latinus has deserted him and Turnus has opposed him (113-114). Little wonder that Latinus keenly reproaches himself (11.471), and finally admits that he had been wholly wrong (12.31)⁴⁴.

In the same way Mezentius in the end admits that his countrymen hate him (10.852, 904-905), that he must pay the penalty he owes them (853), and that he has involved his innocent son therein (851)⁴⁵. Dido, too, wins hatred from her savage neighbors, by her trickery of them and her scorn of them; but she never admits that this is her fault. She does, however, own in the end that her death is deserved (4.547)⁴⁶, and that remorse is seizing her now that it is too late (596).

Throughout the story of Dido there recurs the operation of a law which Vergil employs with particular frequency and justice all through the Aeneid, the law that guilty persons suffer in the way in which they have made others suffer⁴⁷. We have here a bitter inversion of the Golden Rule⁴⁸. In the Dido episode, the first link in the chain of wrong-doing and suffering is Pygmalion. Because of his greed for gold (1.349) he impiously slays his wealthy⁴⁹ brother-in-law Sychaeus. But Sychaeus in a vision reveals to Dido his hidden treasure (358-359), and she robs the robber of the riches that he had counted on making his own (363-364). This is fair, and consequently Dido pays no penalty for it, although later we find her expressing fear of assaults on her walls by Pygmalion as well as of seizure of her person by Iarbas (4.325-326)⁵⁰. But much more

reason has she to dread Iarbas, for here *she* has been at least partly in the wrong. She used unfair means to obtain her kingdom; through the famous trick of the bull's hide (1.367-368) she and her comrades won by a payment suitable only for a 'tiny city'⁵¹ enough land for *ingentia moenia*⁵². As Professor Knapp⁵³ says in his note on this passage, "... One would suppose that, taught by their own recent bitter experiences, they would have treated the Libyans more fairly". But they have not learned the lesson, and so they must atone. Little wonder, then, that Dido is in constant fear, ascribes to necessity (563-564) her own flagrant violation of hospitality, and worries about the inhospitality of her neighbors which she has earned⁵⁴. She has given Iarbas a loop hole for feeling that he has rightfully some claim on her; therefore her spurning of his suit has a particularly infuriating effect upon him. The scorned Iarbas (4.36) will, she fears, have his turn to laugh at her (534-536)⁵⁵. He does much more than laugh; he acts. As a result of his reminder (198-218) Jupiter sends Mercury to earth to urge Aeneas's departure from Dido and Carthage (219-237). Now we have another admirable example of poetic justice⁵⁶. Iarbas

and the danger from Pygmalion in Tyre (4.40-44).

⁴²This seems to me the point of Iarbas's complaint, *urbem exiguum pretio posuit* (4.211-212). Professor Knapp, in his revised version of his edition of the Aeneid (1928), interprets it in precisely the opposite sense: "small as the site of the city was, Dido had to pay for it whatever price Iarbas was minded to exact...."

⁴³The passages with which this note and note 52, below, deal are widely separated in the poem, and, what is far more important, widely different in many other ways, e. g. in tone. In 1.365-366 the speaker, Venus, disguised as a *virgo Tyria* (compare 1.336), and so for the moment pretending to be friendly to Carthage, uses the words *ingentia moenia* of the new city. In 4.211-218 Iarbas's furious anger robs him of logic; in his case *ira* is, in the words of Horace, *Epistulae* 1.2.62, *furor brevis*, in the true sense of the word *furor* ('lunacy'). I would refer to all my notes on Aeneid 4.211-218, not merely to the few words that Professor Hahn has extracted therefrom, with resultant injustice (unintentional, but none the less serious) to my views. It is a mistake in method to join together in interpretation passages that are so widely different, in their places in the poem, their contexts, their speakers, the purposes of those speakers, and the rôles that the passages play in the poet's plan.

⁴⁴On *Femina*... *dedimus* (4.211-213) I wrote, in part, as follows: "... The thought is, 'The little that she has she owes to me, yet she rejects me.' Effective as the words *Femina quae*... *dedimus* (211-213) are in themselves, it is not natural for Iarbas himself to belittle his services to Dido, esp. when he is making those services the ground of his anger at Dido for preferring Aeneas to himself...." But who expects a man who is *furiosus*, temporarily insane, to be logical? Emotion is destructive also, it may be noted, to syntax. Of this we have a splendid example in Horace, *Carmina* 1.3.1-8 (see my remarks on this passage in *The Classical Review* 21 [1907], 46 A, with the footnote).

⁴⁵Elsewhere Vergil allows a character who is under a severe emotional strain, or has some special purpose in mind to forget logic or facts. I give one instance of this, from Book 4. In 31-53 Anna is counselling Dido to yield to her passion for Aeneas. Note especially *Nec venit... Parcarum* (30-43). Part of my notes on this passage runs as follows: "... *deserta*... *regio* is not in place in an account of dangerous peoples, since a desert would help Carthage by preventing attack. Cf. the account of Camarina, iii. 700-701. Anna is, however, recounting all the drawbacks of life in Africa." I may add, as not without interest and importance here, that in this same passage Vergil allows Anna to make an error in geography: see my note on *Hinc... hinc*, 40, 42 (page 331 B). C. K. >

⁴⁶1.365-366. The words *ingentia moenia* must refer primarily to the extent of the fortifications, not to their height or their massiveness. Great height they can hardly have attained; they are by no means completed (1.437, 4.86-89).

⁴⁷In the work named in note 51, above.

⁴⁸Anna's words, *inhospita Syrtis* (4.41), refer to the character of the people even more than to that of the place. See Conington on the passage.

⁴⁹Compare Horace, *Epodes* 15.24, *ast ego vicissim risero* (the mood here is far lighter, but the sentiment is the same); Euripides, *Medea* 383.

⁵⁰I am considering the story only from Dido's side. If Aeneas's side is to enter, I cannot but wish for some more worthy intermediary than Iarbas between him and Jupiter. But perhaps we are to infer that even the unworthy may serve to promote the attainment of the great aim, the foundation of Rome, as the really worthy may be destroyed in the furtherance of that end (compare notes 10, 30, above).

⁴²Compare the words of Andromache (3.321-324), and of Aeneas (1.94-101).

⁴³Notice especially 7.599-600.

⁴⁴Note especially his use of *impia*. ⁴⁵Compare note 34, above. ⁴⁶*Quin merore ut merita es* seems to mean that because of her misdeeds she deserves death, not that she has earned the right to die (the latter idea is implied by the similar expressions in 2.434, 4.606; see note 18, above).

⁴⁷This is closely akin to the principle, already referred to, that the punishment must fit the crime.

⁴⁸Compare note 25, above. ⁴⁹Note *disissimus agri* in 1.343.

⁵⁰Anna, too, in setting forth the difficulties of Dido's situation mentions both the perils from her wild and unfriendly neighbors

has complained of Dido's ingratitude for favors rendered to her when she was in dire need (211-214); to the scorned Iarbas himself we can directly trace the events that soon give Dido cause to make corresponding complaint of Aeneas's behavior in the face of the help that *she* had rendered him under similar circumstances (373-378).

Dido, however, has her little triumph in the end. Aeneas had so resolutely refused to be moved by her pleas and reproaches⁸⁷ that, in fury, she cries, *Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor, perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens Caucasus...* (4.365-367). But, in Book 6, when Aeneas is no longer under compulsion⁸⁸ to conceal his feelings, but is at last free to speak to her with the love that he feels, *he* weeps (455)⁸⁹, *he* pleads (465-466), while *she* remains stonily unresponsive (470-471). Aeneas suffers keenly here, and rightly, since he has been by no means blameless. But Dido's suffering, despite her success in turning the tables on him, is, I think, deeper still; that, too, is right, since she has been the greater sinner, in having yielded more completely to her love, and, above all, in having refused to give it up at the behest of the gods. So Aeneas, though his first thoughts were at least partly for himself (was it a true message that had come to *him*? was *he* indeed the cause of such calamity to her? 456-458), though his first desires were at least partly for self-justification (what he did in leaving he did unwillingly: 460), more and more shifts from possibly selfish recollection of his own love to pure and selfless pity for her (475-476): *nec minus Aeneas casu concussus iniquo*⁹⁰ *prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem*.

Probably, for all his pity and sorrow, there is a touch of relief, too, for Aeneas⁹¹, in that he is at last free to express his real feelings, to speak with that love (455) which formerly, no matter how he was shaken by it (4.395) or how deeply he felt it (448), he had to keep concealed (332, 448). He has an opportunity now to seek to justify himself in her sight, which, even if not successful, is deserved, since it was not from inclination but from duty that he earlier presented himself to her in so unfavorable a light. He certainly does justify himself, if not to her, at least to the careful and impartial

⁸⁷Note particularly 4.331-332, and compare his behavior when he is beset by Anna: 4.449 *mens immota manet, lacrimae voluntur inanes* (it makes no difference, so far as my point is concerned, whether the tears are Anna's, as I am inclined to believe, or his own).

⁸⁸Note *Iovis monitis* in 4.331, an important detail too often ignored by proponents of Dido.

⁸⁹It is doubtful whose tears are involved in 6.467-468. On the basis of 3.344-345 *talita fundebat lacrimas longosque ciebat incassum fletus*, we might conclude, with Servius, that the tears are Aeneas's. Yet *ciebat* may be a 'conative' imperfect, as its parallel, *lenibat*, certainly is; Aeneas might wish to move her to tears, partly as a sign that she relents toward him, or, more probably (since his mood is one of pity), for the sake of the relief that they would bring to her.

⁹⁰Does *iniquo* mean 'unjust', or 'unkind'? To Aeneas, who has not yet reached the inner mysteries, the fate of his loved one may well seem unfair (as does that of the unbred; compare 6.332). But we gladly note that Dido has the comfort of Sychaeus's companionship and consolation (473-474). This she probably deserves, for she was a loving wife to him (1.346). But what is he doing in the Campi Lugentes? Have the gods broken the rules of this region, to bring about a reunion of husband and wife which, the reader feels, is essentially fitting? We rejoice that, sad though the lot of Dido is, she is at least freed from that awful vision that once haunted her (4.465-468). No longer is Aeneas 'savage'; no longer is she 'solitary'.

⁹¹As there might have been for Dido. Compare note 59, above.

reader. Thus, from every point of view, this final scene in Hades is needed to set a suitable *finis* upon the relations of the pair^{92, 93}.

(To be Continued)

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The Greek Language. By B. F. C. Atkinson. London: Faber and Faber (1931). Pp. viii, 354¹.

Mr. Atkinson's book, *The Greek Language*, is the first volume of a series dealing with The Great Languages. The series is under the general editorship of G. E. K. Brauholtz, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. Mr. Atkinson is Under-Librarian in Cambridge University. The article Alphabet, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, 1.677-685, is by his hand. There was special need of a book that would give in English a summary history of the Greek language from its origin to the present time.

A statement of the Contents will give an idea of the scope of the book.

Foreword (vii-viii); I, Origins (1-26); II, Phonetics, Accent (27-63); III, Nouns and Pronouns (64-85); IV, Verbs and Adverbs (86-102); V, Syntax, Nouns (103-134); VI, Syntax, Verbs and Particles (135-164); VII, Dialects (165-197); VIII, Homer and Early Literature (198-223); IX, The Golden Age (224-263); X, Greek as a World Language: The New Testament (264-306); XI, Greek at the Present Day (307-334); Appendix: The Greek Alphabet (335-339); Bibliography (340-346); Index (347-354).

In the chapter on Origins, after a summary of the likenesses, morphological and phonetic, of the various

⁹²Those who treat the Dido story as if it ended in Book 4 are singularly short-sighted. We cannot pronounce judgment upon it until we have studied its concluding scene in Book 6. Compare note 15, above.

⁹³Vergil gives us, in 5.5-6 *magno... amore... polluto*, a review of Book 4, and the view he means us to take of the passion of Dido and Aeneas. See my notes on the passage. In those notes I bring out a point often entirely missed—missed, too, I think, by Professor Hahn: at least it is not brought out clearly by her in the text above, namely, that Dido's sin lay not in loving Aeneas, nor even in yielding herself completely to him, but in the fact that she did this in defiance of the oath she had taken, *non modo sua sponte, sed ultro, at the time of Sychaeus's death*, that she would not again love a man, or yield herself to a man, even in honorable marriage: see 4. 4, 19, 50, 172, 502, with my notes on those passages. The sacrifices to which reference is made in 4.50, 55-67 are part of Dido's effort to induce the gods to release her from her oath of eternal fidelity to Sychaeus. It is clearly implied that the appeal to the gods is fruitless. The gods will not set her free from her oath. Yet Dido persists in dalliance with Aeneas. Verses 450-465, too, are pertinent, as proof that the divine favor had not been, was not now, Dido's, that her doom was inevitable, brought on by herself, in spite of ample warning from the gods (one may ignore here, as Vergil himself does, most of the time, especially in Book 4, the part played by Venus, or to be played by Venus [1. 673-688], in the whole matter. C. K.).

⁹⁴In a sense this scene is a *τέλος* to their relations. To me a *finis* is something that ends matters, irrevocably. Often the word has an unpleasant suggestion, as e. g. in Aeneid 2, 554 *Haec finis Priami fatiurum <est>*. . . . Death is often such a *finis*, preventing all possibility of change for the better. In the sense of 'boundary', *finis* marks the point beyond which the sovereignty of individual or people does not go, may not go (not so much the point up to which it goes). On the other hand *τέλος* often has a pleasant suggestion. It means 'consummation'; it suggests the final crowning with success of one's efforts. Victory in a decisive contest of any sort is for the victor a *τέλος*, for the defeated contestant a *finis*. C. K.).

⁹⁵This book reached a second edition in 1933. A brief notice, by Mr. P. S. Costas, of the University of Chicago, of this new edition appeared in *Classical Philology* 29.87 (January, 1934). Mr. Costas writes as follows: "The present edition differs but slightly from the first (cf. my review in *Class. Phil.*, XXVII [1932], 103-4). The author has introduced a few contractions and expansions and has helped enhance the value of the work by accepting some of the corrections suggested by the different reviewers. A few of the Greek passages of the first edition have been replaced by new ones and the Bibliography has been considerably enlarged and brought up to date". C. K.).

Indo-European languages, selections taken at random from Greek writers, Homer, Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Plato, are given, and rendered into English. The words of non-European origin in the selections are cited; they range in number from about one in thirteen to one in seven. By such tests of derivation it may be inferred that the Greek mind as well as the Greek vocabulary was influenced by various non-Indo-European peoples. Fresh light on this obscure subject may come from Asianic and Minoan inscriptions which still await interpretation. On page 17 Mr. Atkinson says, "... The languages that were in Greece already affected not only Greek vocabulary but also phonology and syntax".

It is well worth while to give a specimen here of Mr. Atkinson's method. On page 18 he presents the text of Homer, *Odyssey* 9.152-176. On pages 18-19 he discusses various words in this passage. Some, he decides, are not of Indo-European origin. On pages 19-21 he writes:

... Of twenty-six verbs and participles employed in this passage we find only two that cannot be definitely related to known Indo-European roots. These are the participle *θαυμάζοντες* already noticed, and the verb, of frequent use and simple meaning, *ἀνέσσομεν*. This we may suspect to be a borrowed word.

Apart from the proper names of the Cicones and the Cyclopes the passage contains fifty-four substantives and adjectives. Of these seven stems, standing alone or as members of compounds, admit of no certain Indo-European etymology. The seven are interesting, and instructive. The first is the first member of the epithet of Zeus, *αἰγιόχος*. The aegis, as might well be expected, is not of Greek origin and we may look to Asia Minor for its home. The bow (*τόξον*) does not appear to be Indo-European, and the fact that this is true of so common a weapon illustrates the extent of the penetration of non-Greek vocabulary. In l. 167 we find *φθγγή* used for the bleating of sheep, and this with its kindred verb *φθγγομαι* is a common enough word. It has however no known Indo-European etymology, although if borrowed it must have appeared at an early stage in the history of the language, for the stem shows ablaut, which, as we have seen, is a typical Indo-European phenomenon. Again the word *ἀνέφας* 'darkness' seems to be a foreign word, the Indo-European stem with this meaning being probably that seen in Latin *tenebrae* which has a cognate in Sanskrit. A more common word is *θάλασσα*. This we may well believe to have been borrowed, for the parent language seems to have possessed no word for 'sea'. The Greeks adopted the name that they found in use on the shores of the Aegean. In the last line occurs the compound *φιλάνθρωποι*, the second member of which is of well-attested Indo-European origin. The stem *φιλ-*, however, common as it is at all stages of the history of the language, cannot be satisfactorily placed in relationship to any known stem of sufficiently close meaning in any other Indo-European language. Most surprising of all the familiar *ῥόος* (Attic *ῥοῖς*) seems to be a foreign word, borrowed from Asia Minor or Crete. Thus a passage selected at random from the *Odyssey* gives us in the case of both verbs and nouns a proportion of about one in eight that cannot definitely be stated to be Indo-European. Moreover the majority of this fraction consists of words of ordinary meaning and simple occurrence. The passage makes it clear that the vocabulary of the language is predominantly Indo-European, but that probably borrowing of words in ordinary use in the speech of pre-Greek peoples took place at an early stage.

Mr. Atkinson's treatment of phonetics presupposes in the reader considerable knowledge of the subject. It is possible to arrive only approximately at the pronunciation of a given sound in the different stages of development of the Greek language. The continuance of the Indo-European vowel sounds, long and short, in Greek is illustrated by lists of cognate words. Ancient Greek well preserved the Indo-European vowel system; this was probably due to the absence of strong stress accent in Greek. After a condensed summary of the elements of Greek phonetics, based on the hypothetical parent language, Mr. Atkinson retraces his steps and examines (46-51) the Greek phonetic system based on the Greek language itself; here he makes no comparisons with words of other cognate languages, but traces the sounds back to the hypothetical parent language. The brevity of the treatment and the obscurity of the subject result in a lack of clearness.

Mr. Atkinson's treatment of accent, stress, and pitch is good. On pages 58-63 he illustrates "the general use and incidence of the accent" in Greek (58) by the study of "an extract, which will be taken at random from the author who is the most classical of all Greek prose-writers, the historian Thucydides. ..." The passage is 3.89. Mr. Atkinson explains why various words are accented as in fact they are accented, and finally gives (61-63) his conception of the way in which, in reading a passage of Greek aloud, one should treat the accented syllables. Part of this passage may be quoted:

To obtain as far as possible an adequate idea of the Greek accent the above passage of Thucydides should be read aloud, the voice being raised in pitch upon those syllables that bear the acute, raised and lowered upon those that bear the circumflex. Stress should be omitted as far as possible. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that the interval between the high and low tones is constant and that it was equal to a fifth or three and a half tones. Sentence pitch... must also have come into play, the general rise or fall of the voice in expression throughout the sentence. Of this little can be ascertained except that it is probable that it normally rose towards the end of the phrase. ...

In Hellenistic times the Greek pitch accent changed to a stress incident upon the same syllable as that on which the pitch had previously been. Indications that this change of accent had begun as early as the third century B. C. come to us from papyri and inscriptions, where accented syllables are spelt with *ω* or *η*, where the true orthography requires *ο* or *ε*, and unaccented syllables *vice versa*. In modern Greek accented vowels are longer than unaccented, though no alteration in orthography has taken place... With this stress, which is by no means as strong as our own, there remains a certain amount of pitch. The change from pitch to stress manifested itself at a time when Greek was beginning to become a world language. In course of time many peoples adopted it as their language or employed it in addition to their own, a fact that would go far towards modifying the accent in accordance with the previous usages of the various new speakers. The change was also in accordance... with a general tendency of the Indo-European languages, and in the third place we may well believe that it made for economy of effort in speech.

The careful explanation of noun-suffixes shows that they are derived from the Indo-European stock. Mr. Atkinson suggests (99) "as perhaps only a personal

judgment" that the optative mood as used by the great dramatists possessed "a certain dignity and perhaps a certain aloofness from the realism of the indicative that rendered it singularly helpful to authors in producing high-toned artistic effect...." This idea of the aloofness of the optative mood was, I think, dwelt on by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve in his lectures, at The Johns Hopkins University, on Greek Syntax.

We notice in the treatment of the syntax of the Greek verb, in addition to a lucid explanation of the forms and their significance, a keen appreciation of the resources of the language for the expression of subtle ideas, and of an artistic power such as no other language possesses in like degree. The admirable treatment of compound verbs (158-159) is noteworthy.

The extracts to illustrate the various Greek dialects are for the most part taken from Professor Buck's work, *Greek Dialects*². Since English versions are also given, even the reader who has no previous knowledge of the subject is able to form some idea of the peculiarities of the dialects. A dialect-map of the Greek world would be a helpful addition.

In the chapter entitled *Homer and Early Literature* (198-233), covering the period from the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to the close of the Persian War, the general character of the language of the epic and lyric writers and of the early physical philosophers is briefly but adequately discussed. Here, as in succeeding chapters, the author illustrates his views of the language by word-studies of noted passages from the literature, thus avoiding the aridity characteristic of most treatises on language alone. A belief in the unity of authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is briefly expressed (198-200). On 199-201 Mr. Atkinson discusses the dialect of the Homeric Poems. He sums up thus: "we shall not be far wrong in regarding it as in the hands of the poet of the epics a living language against whose everyday use in the island of Chios earlier than the ninth century we know no valid reason". This view, that the dialect of the Homeric Poems is not an artificial dialect, has my hearty approval³. Mr. Atkinson comments on the fact that in the period from Homer to the fifth century we have no acquaintance with the spoken Greek language, and consequently with the actual world of the common people as represented in their speech. It is not until Aristophanes that we gain some light on the popular conversational idiom.

In the language of the Golden Age, thought and style became fused into one perfect structure. The grandeur and the force of Aeschylus, the subtlety and the beauty of Sophocles, and the emotion and the clarity of Euripides are illustrated by many choice quotations (224-240), which show that this highly artificial literary language was now able to sound the depth of

human personality. The Attic historians and the orators of this period brought Greek prose to a height of excellence never afterward equalled. In the (too brief) treatment of Plato (266-271) there are fresh and suggestive comments on the predominance, in the conversations, of particles and on their value in contributing to the unbroken flow of the language in the dialogue.

In the discussion of the question how Greek became a world language the Greek of the New Testament is properly emphasized. That it was largely the language of everyday life the non-literary papyri discovered in recent years prove. On page 291 Mr. Atkinson writes:

...Just as Plato took up the phraseology of the thinkers that preceded him and transformed much of it, making from his own thought new moulds in which he cast familiar terms and expressions, so the New Testament takes the whole Greek language—represented as it were by such of its words as the New Testament writers employ—and breathes into it transforming life. Henceforth there is a Christian phraseology, a Christian thought, a Christian theology, of all of which the New Testament is the basis. The New Testament looks back and forward. It answers and crowns the thought and language of the past, and it breaks new ground for the future. By political and social means Greek had become a world language. Now it is employed as an instrument of a world Book. In another sense it becomes a world language. The language of the New Testament is in every sense the language of humanity, because it speaks to and satisfies the deepest needs of humanity. The definiteness and assurance of the New Testament colour all its vocabulary....

This whole chapter (X) is a sort of anthology, an historical survey of Greek prose from the fourth century B. C. nearly to the termination of the Byzantine Empire. Twenty-two authors, from Plato to Theodorus Gaza, are quoted. The language had in its essential character changed but little during a period of over eighteen centuries.

Greek has never been a 'dead' language. Mr. Atkinson's final chapter gives a clear and convenient summary of the changes that the language has undergone to produce Greek as it is spoken and written today.

This book is worthy of careful study by everyone interested in Greek. It will appeal to a wider public and especially to all interested in the growth of language. It should receive a hearty welcome.

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

XIII

The Times Literary Supplement (London)—October 26, Review, very favorable, of Amedeo Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro ed il Suo Tesoro di Argenteria* (2 volumes); Brief review, mildly favorable, of M. N. Eliadi, *Crete, Past and Present* (with Additional Chapters by Sir Arthur Evans, George P. Baker, P. L. Giuseppi, and a Guide to the Candia Museum by Professor Steph. Xanthoudides); November 2, Review, mildly unfavorable, of Arthur Weigall,

²Carl Darling Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects: Grammar, Inscriptions, Glossary. Revised Edition* (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1928. Pp. xviii, 348. C. K.).

³Mr. Atkinson states (201, note 1) that "Mr. C. M. Bowra in his *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Chap. VII, 'Language' (pp. 129-55), has put an excellent case in favour of artificiality. I am however inclined to think that his reasoning against Homer's language being based upon a local dialect is not conclusive". For a review, by Professor S. E. Bassett, of Mr. Bowra's book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 25.13-15.

Alexander the Great; November 9, Review, favorable, of P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, and A. R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season of Work*, October, 1930-March, 1931; Review, mildly favorable, of Eric Muspratt, *Greek Seas* [a book of travel]; Review, generally unfavorable, of Archibald Weir, *For To-Day: Modern Thoughts Secured on the Fame of Marcus Aurelius*; Brief review, uncritical, of William H. Beable, *Celebrated and Historical Speeches: An Anthology of Ancient and Modern Oratory*; Brief review, favorable, of Fritz Saxl, *Vorträge 1930 und 1931: England und die Antike*; Review, favorable, of Silvio Ferri, *Arte Romana sul Reno*; November 16, Review, generally favorable, of G. K. Lukomski, *I Maestri della Architettura Classica de Vitruvio allo Scamozzi: con 350 Illustrazioni* ["... a very useful guide to Vitruvian literature and 'Vitruviana'"]; Brief review, generally favorable, of C. R. Allen, *Cinna the Poet and Other Verse*; Brief review, generally favorable, of E. E. Kellett, *A Short History of Religions*; November 23, Review, favorable, of A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*; Brief review, generally favorable, of Ellison Hawks, *Book of the Warship*, and *The Romance of the Merchant Ship*; November 30, Brief review, favorable, of Erick Berry, *The Winged Girl of Knossos* [a story for young readers]; December 7, Review, favorable, of Ernest A. Gardner, *Poet and Artist in Greece*; December 14, Review, qualifiedly favorable, of A. H. J. Knight, *Some Aspects of the Life and Work of Nietzsche*, and *Particularly of His Connection with Greek Literature and Thought*; Review, favorable, of N. G. L. Hammond, *Sir John Edwin Sandys: A Memoir*; December 21, Brief review, favorable, of Victor Bérard, *Dans le Sillage d'Ulysse* [with 165 photographs]; December 28, Review, very favorable, of Thomas Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: Preliminary Report of the First Year's Work, 1931-*

1932; Vegetius' "*De Re Militari*", Katharine Garvin [a brief letter concerning manuscripts]; Brief review, qualifiedly favorable, of Rhys Carpenter, *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology*; Review, favorable, of Ernest Brehaut (translator), *Cato the Censor on Farming*; January 4, Review, qualifiedly favorable, of F. W. Walbank, *Aratos of Sicyon*; Review, favorable, of Charles Ricketts, *Unrecorded Histories* [stories with classical characters and themes]; Brief review, favorable, of E. S. Forster and T. B. L. Webster, *An Anthology of Greek Prose*.

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FLOATING ISLANDS ONCE MORE

It is not necessary to go to Equatorial Africa or to the fairy land of Lucian to find parallels for the Vadi-monian Islands described by Pliny the Younger¹. For many years there has been a floating island on Sadawga Lake near Wilmington, Vermont. This island is usually lodged against some point of the shore of this small body of water, but occasionally it breaks loose and floats freely. More frequently small portions of the island become detached and drift about independently. My colleague, Professor Herbert N. Couch, tells me of larger floating islands on Chemong Lake, one of the Kawartha Lakes near Peterborough, Ontario. These islands, some of them of several acres in size, covered with rushes and small trees, and inhabited chiefly by snakes, are usually kept fastened by a boom at one end of the lake. When they break loose, small steamers are employed to nose them back where they belong. Another colleague reports, but without detailed information, the existence of similar islands on a lake in Nova Scotia.

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¹Remarks on this subject have been made by L. R. Shero, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 27.51-52, and John W. Spaeth, Jr., *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 27.78.